

generally hostile to the expansionist tendencies of the German and Byzantine empires and to papal universalism. In the thirteenth century the foreign relations of Rus' changed. Although the early century was generally peaceful, alien peoples soon penetrated different parts of Kievan Russia until the second quarter of the century when their inroads became serious assaults. While Suzdal-Novgorod won victories over the troops of Sweden, the German Order, and Denmark, the southern principalities suffered Mongol attacks that changed their political nature and ushered in a new period of foreign relations.

Though Pashuto does little more than outline Russian foreign interests in many parts of his study, he does supply a surprising amount of fascinating detail that should alter traditional views of Kievan Russia's modest role in European history. It is this information and the substantial footnotes and bibliography (over one hundred pages) that are the most important contributions of the book.

Many readers will not subscribe to some of the author's socioeconomic premises, to the large place he assigns Russia in medieval Europe, or to the contrasts he finds in the nature of Russian vis-à-vis West European territorial expansion. Despite these differences, the work should be welcomed for the many new views it presents of medieval foreign relations over a period of three and a half centuries.

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FORSCHUNGEN ZUR OSTEUEPÄISCHEN GESCHICHTE, vol. 14.

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This volume contains two unrelated works. The first, by Frank Kämpfer, is on the sources for the Kazan campaign of Ivan the Terrible. The author agrees with Edward Keenan that they are still too little analyzed; but unlike Keenan he does not turn to a systematic criticism and a study of their authenticity (see p. 78). Instead he confines himself to raising questions while centering his attention on the "meaning" of the sources (p. 79). For this purpose he compares the different existing records (aware that they are those of the victor) and examines in particular the causes they adduce for the attack on Kazan—to spread the faith, recover the tsar's *votchina*, gain security for Muscovy, punish perfidious neighbors, and free enslaved Christian prisoners. Of course, greed is also involved. Kämpfer stresses (perhaps overstresses) the religious motives, pretensions, and connotations (which he feels Keenan has considered insufficiently) and the parallels which in this respect exist between the accounts of the Kazan campaign and those of Dmitrii Donskoi in 1380. As is to be expected, the author can again and again demonstrate that the Kazan sources follow precedents set in earlier times.

Minute research characterizes this work, which, though not exciting, is useful for an understanding of many details and for the comparisons it makes. Some statements seem doubtful, such as the one that the founding of Sviazsk was "without historical parallel" (how about the founding of Ivangorod earlier?), but references to legends embodied in the sources, to views of men like Maxim the Greek and Peresvetov about good government, to personal traits of Ivan, and so forth, add to the usefulness of the work.

The second monograph, by Jack M. Culpepper, reviews, on the basis of

charters and other legal documents, the path which led the Russian peasant into serfdom. Beginning with the establishment—regional and intermittent—of the St. George's Day rule (only in 1589 did it become a general policy), the author leads us on to the "forbidden years" (the first was 1581/82), to the tightening of the regulations in 1594, to the further restrictions (modified by greater flexibility) during the famine years and the *Smuta*, and the subsequent extensions of the right to reclaim runaway peasants after five, ten, fifteen, and then nine and ten years. He is chiefly concerned with legal aspects and with the reasons (fiscal and military) for the legislation—less so with social implications. Inasmuch as the records regarding the enforcement of the rules are skimpy, especially for early times, the author is cautious: "It is possible that . . .," "there is some evidence . . .," "it is very likely . . .," "it might be interpreted as . . .," and so forth. In any case, the practice was different from the law. Limits to enforcement were set by the power of rich landowners, monasteries, boyars, courtiers, by vacillations of the government, by regional conditions and differences, by corruption, and by innumerable other practical impediments. Many peasants had gone to frontier regions, others were hidden by their new masters, and exceptions had to be made when the runaway peasants were married or in debt. Indeed, the author contends, and very appropriately, that intentionally the government regulations "effectively opened an avenue through which the legal migration of peasants might continue within the legislative framework of serfdom" (p. 190).

The final stage came with the census of 1645–47 and the laws of 1649. The author interprets this stage as the outcome of a power struggle between government and rich landlords and wealthy monasteries. The government decided to support the servitor landlords against the other two forces, even though it appeased the monasteries by neither confiscating nor distributing their estates. Thus the pattern for Russia's governmental structure was set. At first it was costly, because the government had to shoulder new financial obligations, had to become involved in endless procedures for the recovery of peasants, had to make exceptions to safeguard those in military service and others as well, and had to make adjustments for changes necessary for its system of tax collection. Briefly but correctly the author points out that the new arrangements benefiting the service nobility went hand in hand with a further degradation of the peasantry.

The merits of the work are that it presents the story essentially from the legal (the government's) point of view—a view usually subordinated by historians to considerations regarding the fate of the peasantry—and that it deals with an almost inescapable legal evolution, as the government sought through legislation to meet past difficulties and to seize present opportunities rather than concern itself with the unknown future.

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FORSCHUNGEN ZUR OSTEUEROPÄISCHEN GESCHICHTE, vol. 15. Edited by *Mathias Bernath, Horst Jablonowski, and Werner Philipp*. Osteuropa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin, Historische Veröffentlichungen. Berlin and Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970. 306 pp. DM 78.

The latest volume of this series as usual presents the historian of Russia with interesting and rich fare. Although the five contributions vary greatly in length